

UNE *KOINÈ* PONTIQUE
CITÉS GRECQUES, SOCIÉTÉS INDIGÈNES ET EMPIRES
MONDIAUX SUR LE LITTORAL NORD DE LA MER NOIRE
(VII^e s. a.C. - III^e s. p.C.)

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Textes réunis par
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— Bordeaux 2007 —

A la mémoire de

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The Numismatics of Chersonesos and Kerkinitis as Evidence of Greek and Barbarian Interrelations in Western Tauris

by V. F. Stolba *

The considerable importance of the numismatic material for studying the economic history of ancient societies as a whole and the economy of the Classical world in particular cannot be doubted. Certainly, rather than studying individual specimens, studying entire coin series and above all coin hoards is of paramount significance¹. As is generally known, coin hoards are a rather versatile source due to their distribution in time and space, and patterns of their accumulation provide certain opportunities for evaluating the military and political situation in various areas of the Greek *oikoumene*².

The above is entirely true for the *poleis* of the northern Black Sea area, the history of which is inseparable from the ethno-political processes within the tribal world of the barbarians who inhabited the Scythian steppes as well as the foothills and mountains of Tauris. This feature was frequently the factor that affected not only the foreign, but often also the internal politics of the Greek states of the region from the very moment of their foundation up to the period of Late Antiquity. Considering the relative poverty of the literary tradition about the Hellenic colonies of the northern Pontus, the topography and the chronology of the hoards can be regarded, *mutatis mutandis*, as a rather important source for the history of Greek-barbarian, and above all Greek-Scythian contacts. This is true at least in those cases where it is possible archaeologically to ascertain that the monetary series correlate stratigraphically with layers of fire and destruction attested in a particular settlement. Unfortunately, due to the specific character of the source itself, only in a few cases is it possible to supplement

these data with comments concerning the typology of the local coin issues.

In this respect, the observations concerning the coinage and monetary circulation of Chersonesos and Kerkinitis – two neighbouring cities of Crimea – prove to be particularly interesting. The choice of these centres is not accidental. It is due not only to their border position between Scythia and Tauris³, but also to the fact that at least from the middle of the fourth century BC the historical destinies of both *poleis* appear to be closely connected.

Numismatics of Chersonesos

A. M. Gilevich was the first to refer to the distribution and chronology of Chersonesean coin hoards as a source for the history of Greek-barbarian relations. Unfortunately, the text of her paper devoted to this theme and read in 1973 has remained unpublished. However, already in the abstract of this work she managed to divide the local coin hoards of the Hellenistic period into four basic chronological groups and to propose their historical interpretation. More than ten years ago the same theme became a subject of special research within the framework of my doctoral thesis. All new data collected since then has been summarised recently by Gilevich in her detailed article that appeared, unfortunately, only after her death⁴.

The quantitative distribution of hoards and collective finds of various groups, their typological composition, references concerning their absolute chronology are summarised in the following table :

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¹ See, e.g., Noe 1949, 235-242; Sarvas 1981, 3-10; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1993, 53-58; Shuvalov 1999, 376-386.

² See Blanchet 1936, 1-70; Mitrea 1957, 229-236; Frolova 1983, 3-23; 1989, 196-206; Stolba 1990a, 6-7, 16; Shuvalov 1994, 40. Cf. Stolba & Varvarovskij 1999, 239-241.

³ Hdt. 4.99 : ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ αὕτη ἦδη (ἡ) ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη ἐστὶ ... μέχρι πόλιος Καρκινίτιδος καλεομένης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, εἴδουσαν ὀρεινὴν τε χώραν καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσονήσου τῆς τριχῆς καλεομένης.

⁴ Gilevich 1999, 346-373. See also Gilevich 1973, 10-11; Stolba 1990a, 6.

| Chronol. groups | Number of finds | Coin types represented | Counter-marks | Dating of the groups | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--|---------------|--|---|---|
| | | | | Gilevich 1973 | Stolba 1990 | Gilevich 1999 |
| I | 4 | Zograf, XXXV 10, 16, 18 | no | late 4 th cent. BC | late 4 th cent. BC | turn from the 4 th to the 3 rd cent. BC |
| II | 8 | Zograf, XXXV 16, 18, 23-25 | no | 1 st half of the 3 rd cent. BC | 1 st third of the 3 rd cent. BC | c. 280-270/260? BC |
| III | 4 | Zograf, XXXV 16, 18, 20, 22, 23-25; XXXVI 1-2, 19-20, 22 | yes | early 2 nd cent. BC | c. 250-200 (225?) BC | 3 rd quarter of the 3 rd cent. BC |
| I-III | 2 | Zograf, XXXV 10, 16, 18, 22; XXXVI 6 (?) | ? | — | — | — |
| IVA | 1 | Zograf, XXXVI 7-8 | no | — | — | 1 st half (quarter?) of the 2 nd cent. BC |
| IV | 3 | Zograf, XXXV 24-25; XXXVI 5, 7-8, 10-14, 22 var.; Anokhin, 151 | yes | late 2 nd cent. BC | late 2 nd cent. BC | c. 120-110 BC |

It should be noted that a more accurate assessment of the hoard chronology has resulted from a revision not only of the dates of the specific issues represented in the monetary series, but also, as far as it was possible, of the archaeological contexts as a whole. The possibility of connecting particular series with a certain event in the history of the *polis* known to us from other sources has played an important role here. Relying on these criteria, three of the four groups distinguished by Gilevich were connected by her to the destabilization of the military-political situation resulting from pirate attacks or open military confrontations with nomads (first of all Scythians) during the third and second centuries BC.

It must be admitted, however, that the work of adjusting the chronology of the Chersonesean hoards is far from finished, and a revision is necessary due to the necessity of reconsidering the absolute dates of a number of local issues. At the same time, this approach to the problem seems to me to be more fruitful than V. A. Anokhin's attempt to explain the burying of hoards as a consequence of the financial difficulties of the *polis*, the increasing price of silver, and, as a consequence, the transformation of an old full-weight coin into a treasure⁵. The fact that for some reason, most likely because of death, the money owners did not return to the hiding places, whereby the hoards remained unclaimed, provides evidence against Anokhin's hypothesis. Moreover, the metallographical study of Chersonesean coins recently carried out by T. N. Smekalova proves this to be true too⁶, as

the silver presented in the finds is considerably inferior in quality compared to the earlier issues⁷.

Despite the possibility mentioned of further chronological adjustments, it remains obvious that the main part of the hoards, first of all of groups II and IV (including sub-group IVA) are connected with a military threat and the destruction of the settlements in the city's rural territory in northern and south-western Crimea as a result of a barbarian attack. A significant part of the monetary series of these groups come from layers of fire and destruction or from layers connected with them stratigraphically. Concerning collective finds, which are known from the settlements, Gilevich has pointed out that, except for one, all of them come from building complexes that also show clear evidence of having been destroyed by fire⁸.

The analysis of the geographic distribution of the finds brings us to the same conclusion. As can be seen from the maps below (fig. 1, *a-b*), the distribution area of the hoards pertaining to groups III and IV is significantly smaller compared to the earlier groups I and II. This dynamic fully corresponds to the stages of violent reduction of the rural territory of Chersonesos as a result of barbarian incursions, which were established on the basis of archaeological data.

Nomad attacks did not affect the city's *chora* alone. The fact that some time around the first third of the third century BC the defensive walls of Chersonesos were strengthened

⁶ Smekalova 2001, 110-134; 2002.

⁷ Smekalova 2001, 114.

⁸ Gilevich 1999, 350.

⁵ Anokhin 1977, 39.

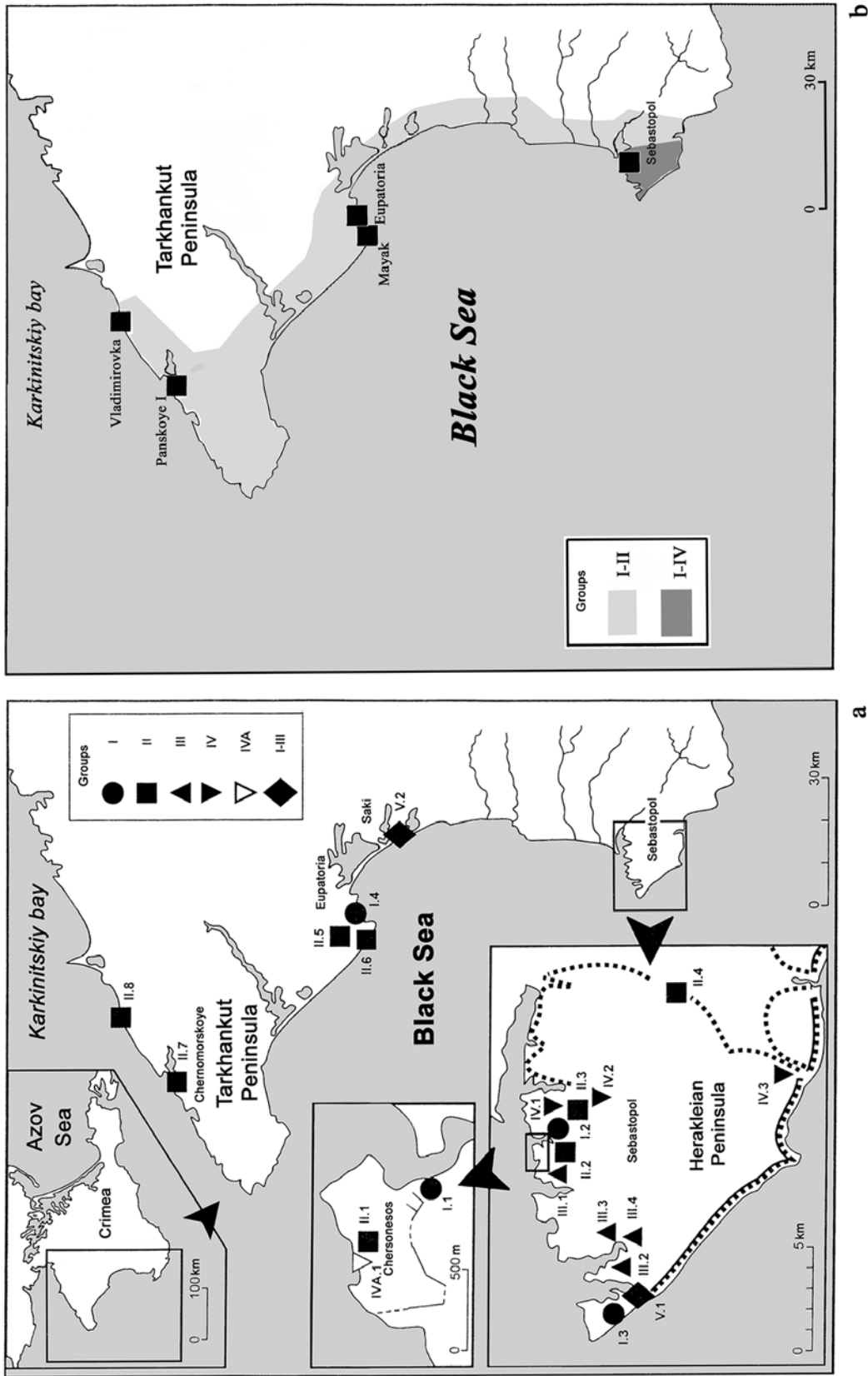


Fig. 1 : Hoards and collective finds of Chersonesean coins from the fourth to second centuries BC (Chronological groups I-IV).
 (a) General map (after Gilevich 1999).
 (b) Distribution areas of groups I-II and III-IV.

hastily with gravestones from the neighbouring part of the city's necropolis⁹ makes it clear that a barbarian siege was a reality. To the same period should apparently also be dated the sudden destruction of the Chersonesean ceramic workshops discovered by K. K. Koscjushko-Valjuzhinich in 1900 outside the south-eastern part of the city walls¹⁰ and investigated later by V. V. Borisova¹¹.

The question arises, therefore, whether tense foreign relations affected the character of the monetary circulation in the territory of the city itself. The fact that it is precisely during militarily instable periods and catastrophes that archaeological layers in the settlements increase¹² allows us also to expect a more intensive accumulation of circulating coins in an archaeological layer¹³. Aiming to verify this assumption, I have plotted a curve that reflects the rhythms of the presence of coins from the fourth to second centuries BC in the city's archaeological layer (fig. 2). The diagram is based on 752 Chersonesean coins of the period mentioned¹⁴ found in excavation campaigns between 1888 and 1967¹⁵. Taking into account that, as a rule, the majority of the coins remained in circulation rather long, the curve must appear rather as a stripe with a fairly indistinct right-hand border, represented in the diagram with a broken line. Nevertheless the correlation of the diagram with the histogram of the chronological distribution of hoards as well as with changes in the size of the territory of the *polis* leaves little room for doubt. It appears most evidently in the case of hoards of groups I, II and IV. This connection is even clearer if we consider the fact that the first third of the third century and the first third/first half of the second century BC were exactly

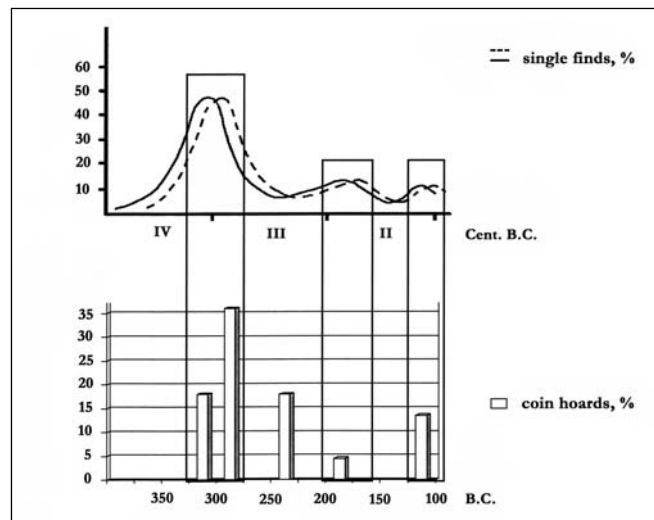


Fig. 2 : Single finds of the Chersonesean coins from the city's cultural layer compared to the chronological distribution of the coin hoards.

the time of the total devastation of the Chersonesean *chora*¹⁶.

The question concerning the finds of group III is more complicated. One of the possible explanations of their deviation from the general scheme might be that these hoards resulted from local raids by the neighbouring barbarians (in which we may see both Scythians and Taurians) on the *chora* close to the city. Inscriptions of Chersonesos¹⁷, as well as the fortified character of the farmhouses on the Heraklean peninsula indicate clearly that such raids were a reality. These forays might not have affected the territory of the city itself and thus would not be reflected in the internal monetary circulation. However, in the first instance one should take into account that the absolute chronology of this particular group of hoards now causes the greatest doubt.

Even though Scythian and Chersonesean confrontations affected the local monetary circulation directly, barbarian themes were not reflected in the coin typology of the city. The typology of the bronze issues of the neighbouring *polis* of Kerkinitis is considerably more revealing in this connection. As already mentioned, from the middle of the fourth to the end of the second centuries BC the fate of this city was closely bound up with the history of Chersonesos¹⁸.

⁹ Strzheleckij 1969, 7-29; Danilenko & Tokareva 1974. Cf. Shcheglov 1970, 172-178. S. F. Strzheleckij (1969, 16-17) dated the erection of the tower to the late third – early second centuries BC on the grounds of the find of the Sinopean amphora stamp belonging to B. N. Grakov's chronological group 4 (astynomos Hestiaios). However, the similar finds recorded from the settlements of Elizavetovskoe (Brashinskij 1980, 186) and Panskoe I (Kac *et al.* 2002, 123, Ae 104) prove the date of these stamps to be not later than the first third of the third century BC, when both of the settlements were destroyed.

¹⁰ Koscjushko-Valjuzhinich 1902b, 18-26.

¹¹ Borisova 1958, 144-153.

¹² Cf., e.g., Blavatskij 1967, 42-44, 194; Romanchuk 1991, 33, 42.

¹³ Cf. Shuvalov 1989, 6; 1994, 40; 1999, 383, 386; Stolba 1990a, 6; Romanchuk 1993, 32-33.

¹⁴ The calculations are based on the coin chronology developed by V. A. Anokhin (1977).

¹⁵ Oreshnikov 1892, 35-46; Koscjushko-Valjuzhinich 1893, 185; 1895, 178; 1896, 84-84a; 1897, 137; 1899, 34a-36, 55a-56a; 1901, 185, 190a, 205; 1902a, 86a, 89a; 1903, 227a, 246a-247; 1904, 243a, 306, 317a; Belova-Kud' 1931, 141-215; 1936, 41-50; 1938, 317-345; Belova 1941, 268-274; 1953, 255-278; 1959, 70-72; 1981, 5-43; Krushkol 1957, 66; Gilevich 1969, 90-91. Unfortunately, most of the finds from the later period of the excavations of the city remain unpublished.

¹⁶ Shcheglov 1978, 42 f., 128, 131; 1985, 192, 197; Stolba 1990a, 12 f.; Zolotarev & Turovskij 1990, 82, 84.

¹⁷ *IOSPE P*, 343, 346. Cf. Polyaen. 8.56; *IOSPE P*, 562.

¹⁸ Shcheglov 1978, 120; 1986, 168-172; Kutajsov 1990, 152-154, 157; Vinogradov & Shcheglov 1990, 359-361. For epigraphic and numismatic evidence, see in detail Stolba 1990b, 141-155.

Numismatics of Kerkinitis

The bronze coins of Kerkinitis, of which only four types¹⁹ comprising two discrete issues²⁰ are known, are not numerous. From the perspective of Greek-barbarian relations two particular types are essential :

Type 1. (fig. 3)

Obv. Head of the goddess with *polos* to the left; all in dotted circle.

Rev. Scythian horseman to the right; magistrate's name behind his back, below the horse – KAPKI.



Fig. 3 : Bronze coin of Kerkinitis. Eupatoria Museum, inv. 11287/2119; 5,34 g.

As I have tried to show elsewhere, this type representing the first issue of the coins struck in Kerkinitis can be dated to the middle of the fourth century BC²¹. There can hardly be any doubt that the horseman represented on the reverse is a Scythian warrior. The treatment of the image as a whole is rather realistic and represents the barbarian in exactly the same way we find him, for instance, on the well-known Chertomlyk vase or on the equally well-known ritual vessels from the Voronezh, Gajmanova Mogila and Kul'-Oba tumuli (figs. 4-5). The horseman's long hair is combed back and his beard is clearly perceptible. Similar to the Scythians on the above-mentioned vessels, he is dressed in a bi-flapped caftan girded with a belt and wide trousers. In his raised right hand

¹⁹ Zograf 1951, pl. 38, 15-20; *SNG BM*, 693-705. On the coinage of Kerkinitis in general, see : Zograf 1951, 254-256; Medvedeva 1984, 40-49; Anokhin 1988a, 133-148; 1989, 80-85; Stolba 1990b, 141-155; 1996, 225-241. On the earliest cast money of the city, see : Zolotarev 1986, 88-93; Kutajsov 1986, 94-97; 1991, 46-69; 1995, 39-59.

²⁰ Stolba 1990b, 148-149; 1996, 225.

²¹ Stolba 1990b, 148; 1996, 236.

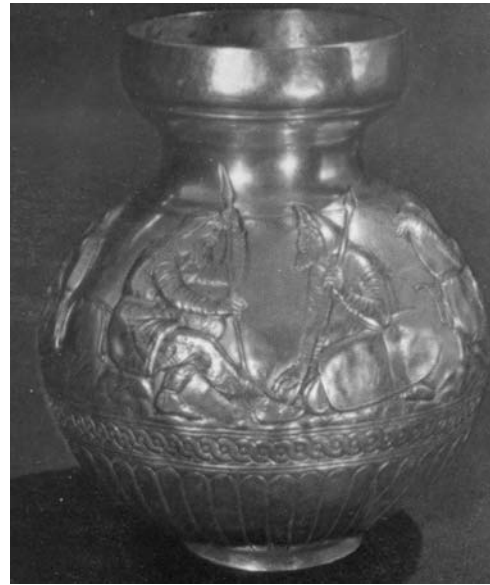


Fig. 4 : Electrum vessel from the Kul'-Oba barrow, Kerch region. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Fig. 5 : Silver bowl from the Gajmanova Mogila barrow, Zaporozh'e region. Museum of Historical Jewellery, Kiev.

he is holding a spear. The horse is prancing as if held back by the horseman who aims his spear at an invisible opponent. We find a surprisingly close parallel to the Kerkinitian horseman not only in respect to its composition, but also its details, on the stamped gold plates from the Kul'-Oba burial mound (fig. 6); L. V. Kopejkina ascribes them to the Ionian school and dates them to the late fifth century BC²². However, the state of the original documentation concerning the excavations of Kul'-Oba in 1830 makes it impossible to decide which of the several successive graves within the

²² Kopejkina 1986, 34-35, 38-40, n° 2-4.



Fig. 6 : Gold plate from the Kul'-Oba barrow, Kerch region. State Historical Museum, Moscow.

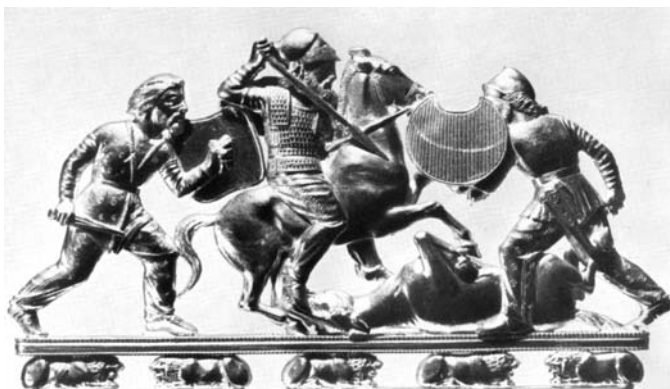


Fig. 7 : Gold comb from the Solokha barrow, Zaporozh'e region. State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

tumulus they belong to²³. Taking into account the Thasian transport amphora found in one of the tombs and bearing the new style stamp of Ἀρέτων²⁴, some later date for the gold plates cannot be ruled out. In terms of a date, the figure of a Scythian horseman on the famous gold comb from the Solokha tumulus is much closer to the Kerkinitian type (fig. 7). In both cases, the horse's posture shows a familiarity with the compositional scheme of the "gathered" gallop ("cabré fléchi") developed by the Greeks, which found its main expression in the horsemen figures on the metopes and friezes of the Parthenon²⁵.

²³ Kopejkina 1986, 29; Alekseev 1992, 156, note 1. On the Kul'-Oba tumulus in general, see the most recent studies by N. L. Grach 2001a, 5-18; 2001b, 19-28; 2001c, 29-37; 2001d, 39-43.

²⁴ On the date of the amphora, see already Brashinskij 1975, 37. According to the chronology of the Thasian stamps elaborated recently by A. Avram, the activity of Aretôn most likely falls into the period 329 to 317 BC (Avram 1996, 58).



Fig. 8 : Didrachm of Ataias. Gissener Münzhandlung D. Gorny, Munich, February 1997 = *Gorny* 82, 1997, n° 55; 6,93 g.

Of course, in respect to identifying this type of Kerkinitian bronze, it is hardly possible to ignore the not less peculiar group of silver coins apparently struck in Kallatis on behalf of the Scythian king Ataias²⁶. Despite numerous attempts to question their authenticity²⁷, new specimens with the legend ΑΤΑΙΑΣ that appeared more recently in the coin trade²⁸, leave little room for doubt. The reverse type of the biggest fraction of these coins shows the Scythian horseman which most of the scholars regard as representing the king himself (fig. 8)²⁹. The image is turned to the left, and instead of a spear the Scythian is holding a bow with an arrow ready to shoot. Though the similarity of the subject on both groups of coins is evident, it would be rather risky to share V. I. Pavlenkov's assumption that precisely this type of Ataias coins was borrowed by the Kerkinitian engraver, who had simply re-cast it with slight modifications³⁰. In fact it appears quite obvious that artistically the Kallatian coins are quite inferior to the specimens from Kerkinitis, revealing a number of essential differences in the details of their composition. It would probably be more correct to assume that they developed parallel to each other, in that both were intended to accomplish the task of figurative propaganda due to the strong influence of the Scythian kingdom.

Type 2. (fig. 9)

Obv. Scythian sitting on rock or stool to the left; in front of him ΚΕΡΚΙ.

²⁵ However, the same type of horseman with a horse showing the gathered gallop can be observed in pre-Parthenon Art: for instance, on the Attic black-figured kylix from the Bibliothèque nationale (*CVA, Bibl. Nat.*, 1, III H e, pl. 45, 1; Lacroix 1974, pl. XI, 2), the tetradrachms and didrachms of Gela from c. 480 BC (Giacosa 1973, pls. 18-19) as well as on the earliest "colts" of Corinth.

²⁶ Rogalski 1961, 23, fig. 1a-b; 1970, 3 fig. 1, 4 fig. 2-3; Anokhin 1965, 4, pl. 1, 1-5; 1973, 23, fig. 1, 31, fig. 3.

²⁷ Gerasimov 1967, 181-186; 1972, 3-16; Brabich 1977, 152-155.

²⁸ See, e.g. *Gorny* 82, 1997, n° 55 (6,93 g); *Gorny* 97, 1999, n° 68 (2,93 g) = *Gorny* 97, 1999, n° 148.

²⁹ For the smaller fraction representing the same reverse type, see *SNG BM*, 200; *Gorny* 97, 1999, n° 68 = *Gorny* 97, 1999, n° 148.

³⁰ Pavlenkov 1988, 84.

Rev. Pacing horse to the left; below, under a line, name of the magistrate.

This type, dateable to the late fourth century BC, constitutes the second and the last known issue of Kerkinitian bronze coins. Similar to the type discussed



Fig. 9 : Bronze coin of Kerkinitis.
William Stancomb Collection, *SNG Stancomb*,
453; 5,54 g.

above, the male figure represents a Scythian in his usual garb: girded caftan, wide trousers, bow case suspended from the left side; his face is bearded, and his long straight hair is combed back. The man's left leg is straightened; the right one is bent. The shaft of a sceptre-axe, which the Scythian is holding in his right hand, is resting on his knee. He is leaning with his left hand on a stool or rock.

The posture of the Scythian also finds its analogy in the toreutic works of the northern Black Sea region. The treatment of the Scythian sitting on a rock, which in many respects resembles our coins, is found in the composition represented on the silver vase from the Voronezh and Gajmanova Mogila burial mounds (fig. 5)³¹. However, the closest parallel to the coin type under discussion, both with regard to composition and chronology, is offered by nine gold belt plates which S. A. Mazaraki found in 1905 during excavations in the burial mound near the village of Aksjutincy in the province of Poltava³².

The plates show the barbarian sitting on a stool and turned to the left, similar to the one on our coin type; his long hair falls down to his shoulders, and his beard and moustache are



Fig. 10 : Gold belt plates from tumulus 5/1905 near the village of Aksjutincy, Poltava region, State Historical Museum, Moscow.

pronounced (fig. 10). The Scythian is dressed in tight trousers and a caftan girded at the waist with a composed belt, from which a quiver and a bow case are suspended. Holding a *rhyton* in his left hand, the Scythian is resting on a sceptre-axe with a strongly turned up butt that is easily recognizable in his right hand, bent at the elbow. A. A. Bobrinskij and M. I. Rostovtzeff were the first to consider this type of axe as one of the attributes of the king's power³³. According to the apt remark of P. O. Karyshkovskij³⁴, the variant of the Scythian ethnogonic legend that included, among the gold regalia obtained by the youngest of the Scythian brothers, an axe (Hdt. 4.5.3; 4.7.1) proves its special role. One may refer to similar sceptre-axes with zoomorphic butts recorded from the tumuli of the Poltava and Kherson regions as well as from other monuments of the steppe zone, which hardly served as battle weapons (fig. 11)³⁵. An axe of rather comparable form with a similarly turned up butt appears on the reverse of Olbian bronze coins, which are also known as "*borysthenoi*" (fig. 12)³⁶. On this coin type the axe is accompanied by other Scythian weapons – a bow in a case – and is usually treated as a power sign of the river god Borysthenes. Based on these insignia, Rostovtzeff suggested that "a king or Scythian

³³ Bobrinskij 1901, 63, note 1; Rostovcev 1913, 82; 1914, 9.

³⁴ Karyshkovskij 1968.

³⁵ Bobrinskij 1901, pl. XI, 1-2; Illins'ka 1961, 45, fig. 11; Il'inskaja 1965, 208, 210, fig. 3; Kubyshev *et al.* 1982, 140, fig. 10-11; Rolle *et al.* 1991, 303, n° 87, 361.

³⁶ *SNG BM*, 451-474; *SNG Cop*, 85-95.

³¹ Martinovich 1912, 204, fig. 1; Rostovcev, 1914, pl. 1, 1, 2, 2.

³² Rostovcev 1913, 8, fig. 3; Il'inskaja 1968, 37, pl. 22, 6; Onajko 1976, 172, fig. 6; Firsov 2002, 92, n° 398. This parallel was already noticed by A. V. Oreshnikov (1911, 629-630).



Fig. 11 : Ceremonial bronze axe from tumulus 18 near the village of L'vovo, Kherson region. Museum of Historical Jewellery, Kiev.

prince” was depicted on the gold plates from Aksjutincy³⁷. The possibility of similarly interpreting the barbarian figure on the last issue of Kerkinitian bronze coins does not allow us to see a simple penetration of local concepts, as proposed by A. N. Zograf³⁸. The constant presence of Scythian themes on the coins of Kerkinitis certainly indicates close connections between the city and the neighbouring nomadic tribes or the Scythian kingdom as a whole³⁹. As pointed out by Karyshkovskij⁴⁰, “Scythian” motifs on the coins of the

³⁷ Rostovcev 1913, 82; 1914, 9; 1925, 441, 517.

³⁸ Zograf 1951, 161.

³⁹ Based on the Scythian subjects in the coin typology of Kerkinitis (as well as on the out-of-date coin chronology), M. A. Nalivkina suggested not only intimate relations with the kingdom of Skilouros but also the prevalent role of the local Scythian population in the city's economy. See Nalivkina 1934, 162-164; 1940, 107-108; following her, see also Tjumenev 1950, 55. As has been shown above, the coinage of Kerkinitis belongs to a period long before the time of Skilouros. Archaeological data available at the moment do not prove the “dominant” role of the Scythian element in the life of the *polis* in the late fourth and the early third centuries BC. However, the main inference based on the numismatic evidence and regarding the close contacts between the city and Scythian power should remain valid. On the barbarian component of the *polis* population confirmed by the handmade pottery, see Kutajsov 1987a, 27-40; 1987b, 144-146.

⁴⁰ Karyshkovskij 1972, 310.



Fig. 12 : Bronze coin of Olbia. Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Conpenhagen, *SNG Cop*, 85; 10,24 g.

Greek *poleis* of Pontus are closely connected with the history of Greek-Scythian interrelations and particularly reflect the growth of power and political activity of Scythians at the time of Ataias and during the subsequent period.

At the same time, Scythian themes in the numismatics of the Greek world appear to be rather an exception. The coin types of Kyzikos (fig. 13),⁴¹ Kallatis and Kerkinitis, as well as the second-century BC bronze issues of Olbia struck in the name of King Skilouros⁴² seem to be the only examples. Here, *mutatis mutandis*, might be added the early issues of gold, silver, and some bronze specimens of Pantikapaion (figs. 14-15), where the satyr's head is clearly similar to the iconography of the Scythians. This is not surprising, as all of the localities, with the exception of Kyzikos, appear to be situated in the contact zone of the Greek and the nomadic world. In contrast to Kyzikos, which was far from the frontiers of the Scythian kingdom and where this type might well be a result of ethnographic interest, it is hardly possible to explain this motif in the numismatics of Kallatis and Kerkinitis simply by local influences. On the contrary, it definitely indicates the presence of traditional and rather close connections with barbarians.

However, returning to the Crimean materials, it must be admitted that the character of these relations still remains open to question. It is natural to assume that the influence of the Scythians affected not only politics, but also the economy

⁴¹ Bulatovich 1973, 94-99; 1981, 116.

⁴² Zograf 1951, pl. 33, 22-23; Frolova 1964, 44-55.



Fig. 13 : Electrum stater of Kyzikos from the Orlovka hoard. Odessa Archaeological Museum; 15, 96 g.



Fig. 15 : Gold stater of Pantikapaion. State Historical Museum, Moscow, inv. 381; 9,07 g.



Fig. 14 : Silver obol of Pantikapaion. Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Copenhagen, *SNG Cop*, 23; 0,58 g.

of the Greek city. Even Hekataios (*FGrHist* I F 184 = Steph. Byz. *s.v.*) claims that Karkinitis (i.e., the earlier, Ionian spelling of Kerkinitis)⁴³ was a Scythian city. It cannot be ruled out that in some periods Scythian influence might have taken the form of a protectorate, as assumed by Ju. G. Vinogradov⁴⁴. As far as can be judged from the so-called letter of Apatourios found in Eupatoria in 1984 and published by E. I. Solomonik⁴⁵, at the end of the fifth – beginning of the fourth century BC, the city paid tribute to

⁴³ Stolba 1990b, 145-147; 1996, 225 Anm. 1; Vinogradov & Shcheglov 1990, 359.

⁴⁴ Vinogradov 1995, 16.

⁴⁵ Solomonik 1987, 114-125 = *SEG*, 37, 665; *Bull. Ép.*, 1989, 478.

the Scythians⁴⁶. It should be stressed, however, that this form of dependency did not always suggest a protectorate. Similarly, the definition “Scythian” applied by Hekataios to Karkinitis hardly meant more than a simple location in Scythia at this time⁴⁷.

At least until the beginning of the third century BC Kerkinitis certainly formed a particular link in the chain of Greek-Scythian contacts. Unlike Chersonesos, the city and its area became fairly early on a real place of attraction for the nomads. Alongside numismatic data, it is possible to prove very close connections between Kerkinitis and the Scythians by the end of the fifth – fourth centuries BC by the surprisingly high concentration of Scythian gravestones found within not more than twenty-five km of Eupatoria (fig. 16). Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the Scythian anthropomorphic sculptures found in Crimea come from this region⁴⁸.

Thus, in conclusion, even the little data now available clearly reveals the totally different attitudes of two neighbouring Greek cities in their relations with the barbarian world, although it is not possible to say why. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to limit the reasons for it to only the Dorian and Ionian origins of the *apoikiai*⁴⁹. Although the full spectrum of relations between Scythians

⁴⁶ L. 6-8 : καὶ ὅτις τελεῖ γίνωσκε ἐς τὸ(ς) Σκύθας.

⁴⁷ Stolba, 2004, 48-49.

⁴⁸ Ol'khovskij 1990, 107-108.

⁴⁹ On the distinctions between the Dorian and Ionian models of interaction with the native population, see, e.g., Frolov 1981, 31; Shcheglov 1981, 210-212, 218 note 33.

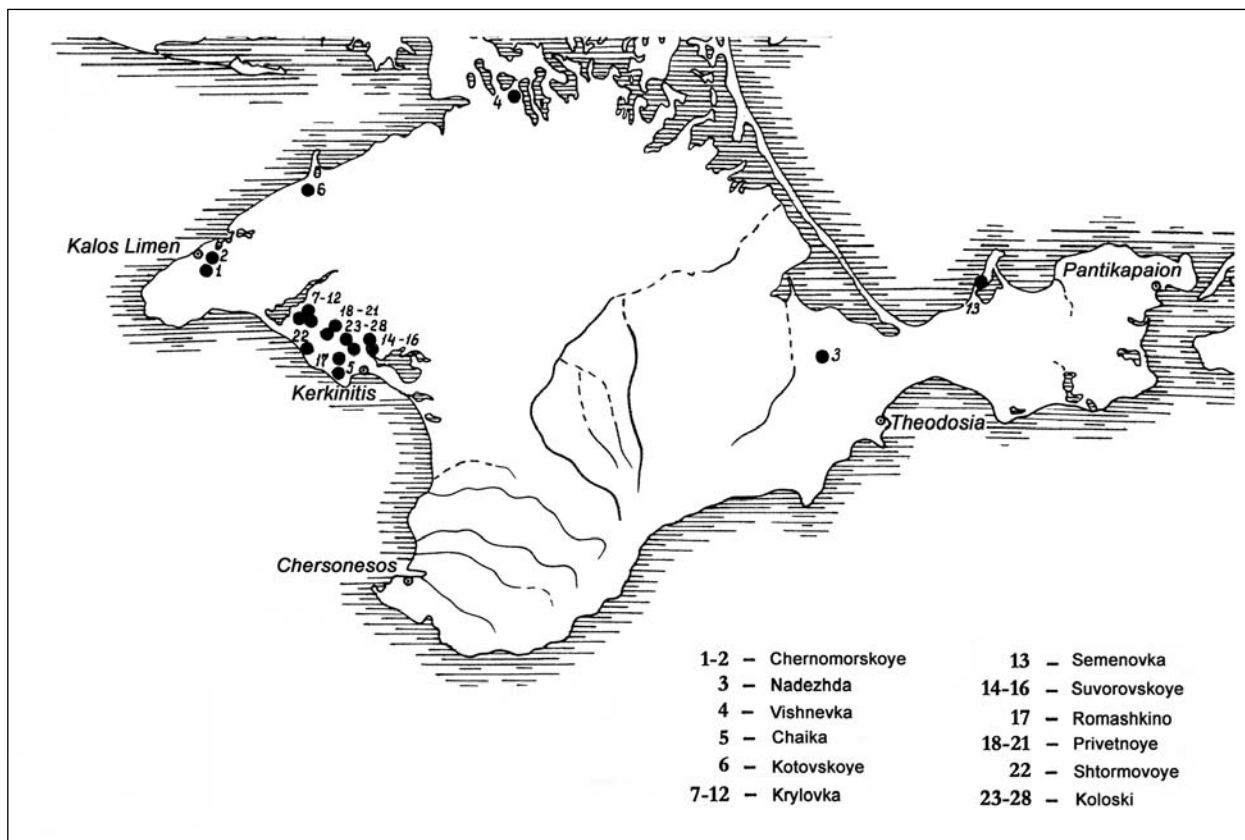


Fig. 16 : Finds of Scythian grave stones from the fifth to third centuries BC in Crimea (after Ol'khovskij 1990).

and Kerkinitis will remain unknown to us, it seems fairly probable that some sort of military and political alliance accompanied by tributary dependency and commercial exchange conditioned them. However, even though these contacts had their origin most likely in the fifth or even in the late sixth century BC, they did not assume the form of acculturation. Similar to Chersonesos, the city's material culture and its necropolis were clearly Greek and do not show traces of any particular role having been played by the barbarian element (neither Scythian nor Taurian) in the everyday life of the *polis* and its population, except for the presence of handmade pottery, which is characteristic in this period for any Greek centre on the northern shores of Pontus.

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